കുപ്പുകളും ബില്ലിൽ ഇല്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് എന്റെ വക്കീൽ സ്നേഹിതന്മാർക്കും ദിവാൻ പേഷ്കാർ അവർകൾക്കും അറിയാം.

ഇതു് അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ ഒസൻഷർചെയ്യണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തിലല്ല ഞാൻ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം ഇന്നതാണെന്നു് അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ ധരിപ്പിച്ചാൽ പോരാ. ഇതു് വളരെ ഗൗരവമുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതിയാണു്. ഇതു് നിയമപ്രകാരം എതിർക്കണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ കഷ്ടിച്ചു് എതിർക്കുവാൻ ഗവൺമെൻറിനു കഴിയും. പക്ഷെ, ഞങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം ഇന്നതരത്തിലാണെന്നുകൂടി നിങ്ങളെ ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. ഇതിലേക്കു് ഞാൻ മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞമാതിരി ഒരു വിളംബരം ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്നുള്ളതാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. ഒരു വിളംബരം പാസ്സാക്കികിട്ടണമെന്നുള്ള ഈ നിയമസഭയുടെ അഭിപ്രായവും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ ധരിപ്പിക്കാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ പറയുന്ന സംഗതികളെല്ലാം റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ വരുമെന്നുള്ളതുകൂടി ഗൗരവമായിട്ടു് ആലോചിക്കണം.

അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറു് ഗൗരവമായിട്ടു ആലോചിച്ചു് ഞങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതിക്കു് കൂടുതലായി വല്ല വകുപ്പുകളും ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ കൂട്ടിച്ചേർത്തു് ഒരു വിളംബരം പാസ്സാക്കുന്നതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വിരോധമില്ല. എനിക്കു നിയമപരിജ്ഞാനമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു് അധികമൊന്നും പറയുന്നില്ല. ഗവൺമെൻറിൽ നിന്നും ഒരു ബിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ള കാരണംകൊണ്ടു് കടിയാന്മാരെ അനാവശ്യമായിട്ടു് ഒഴിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഇടയാക്കരുതെന്നു ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ഞാൻ ഇതു പ്രസ്സ്ചെയ്യുന്നു.

Motion put and carried.

Deputy President: The House will now continue the discussion on the Cochin Town Councils Bill.

THE COCHIN TOWN COUNCILS BILL

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I was therefore attempting to meet the argument advanced on the belief indulged in that the amounts that are saved as a result of this Bill would be utilised for Rural Development Department or according to the directions of the Hon'ble Minister. Such a belief is illfounded and such an argument is wrong. The point therefore is what is the result of this Bill? You are compelling a section of the public to pay a certain amount of tax to manage their own affairs giving some amount to the Government over the control of which this House has no effective voice. You are attempting to introduce a Bill the result of which is double taxation on the inhabitants of the town councils and handing over the money to the Government. For what purpose it will be spent the House does not know. I have been supported by the hon'ble members of the ministerial party at one time when I was opposing the Bill introduced by

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Mr. Iyyu for supertaxation, that it is a folly on the part of the legislature in a State, which has no full responsible Government, to strengthen the coffers of the Government over which this House has no authority. Consistent with the argument which I advanced and strengthened by the belief that we are taxing people with no knowledge of the consequences, I maintain we will not be justified in introducing such a taxation. I think it is my duty to oppose the Bill and I wish to distinguish that the education cess proposed by the Education Committee has been definitely so proposed on the understanding that the amount has to be ear-marked to be spent for the purpose for which the Committee has recommended. If the Government wishes to raise the education cess without ear-marking it to be spent for aided schools, all those who are responsible for it would automatically and emphatically oppose such a measure. The only reason that has tempted the Education Committee to support such a resolution is its confidence and the certainty that the amount will not be spent for any other purpose. Now, it is open to the party responsible for the introduction of this Bill to ask me whether the education cess is not a double taxation. Then why not allow a double taxation here? The difference is this. Our proposal is that the amount now spent in the Education Department should continue to be spent. 19 lakhs of rupees which is now being spent for the progress ef education in the State will continue to be spent by the Government and over and above that amount, the Government, if it finds it necessary, if after effecting retrenchment, if after following the half-time system, if after handing over schools to private agencies as far as possible, still the Government find that the progress of education could not be financed, the Government has the liberty to levy the education cess. Here, so far as this Bill is concerned, its result is the contra. If the area proposed to be included as a town council can now get Rs. 5,000 from the Government for the amenities of that town, tomorrow the result is that that amount is no more spent there. It is not over and above the existing amount that you are collecting and spending there. On the other hand, it is a complete surrender of their right over the amounts which they can now legitimately expect from the Government for the amenities of those areas. That right is surrendered and in its place you are substituting a liability over the consquences of which you have no control or certainty. This is the result of the Bill. On the one side, it compels the surrender of the existing right, on the other side it strengthens the coffers of the Government without any control over it. I think it will be a sin to introduce such a measure whether you call it a taxation Bill or whether you call it a Town Councils Bill or a democratic Bill or local autonomous Bill. The result is that a section

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of the public, the extent of which we cannot now determine, is going to be ever subject to a perpetual taxation in the absence of which the result will be they will have to meet the consequences, they will have to incur loans from the Government, and as the loans increase, they will have to increase their taxation and if the taxation stops, the town councils stop. This is the result. The question is if it is the intention of the Government to confer more and more of self-governing powers on these local areas, can it be achieved only by this method alone? The question is if the Government intends to confer local autonomy on certain Panchayats which are to be hereafter named as town councils, is this the only method by which along with taxation—a pill which they cannot swallow—which you can impose, to give them self-autonomy? It has been the desire of this House for ever that self-governing bodies in Cochin State should be strengthened and their number should be increased, that Panchayats should not be representative bodies with no power in their hands and whose resolutions can be thrown out as the Government like. Certainly not. The Panchayats are in fact the primary elements of an autonomous State. Panchayats are the steppping stones to full responsible government, the very training ground for the ordinary citizen to realise the responsibilities of responsible government. It is, therefore, Sir, the unqualified desire of this House that Panchayats of Cochin State should be constituted as real authoritative and powerful bodies as far as possible. But can you do it only with taxation? Can you do it only by attaching to it a condition which makes it a real poison? Is there no other method? I say the real method of giving power to the Panchayats is by handing over to them the amount which you are now spending in these villages, by setting apart that amount in preparing the general budget and by giving the Panchayats the right to determine how the money should be spent. If the Government is now spending Rs. 5,000 for a particular village without consulting those villagers, instead of following that system give the representatives of the village the right to prepare the budget for themselves and get the recommendations accordingly, respecting their wishes and resolutions. That is the way to give them power. That is the way to establish autonomous Panchayats. That is the way to train people in self-government. That gate is not to be closed by this terror of taxation. That is not to be closed by giving sugar-quoted names to a taxation Bill. That gate is not to be closed by indulging in unfounded beliefs that this amount would be utilised for these villages. Today you are taxing. The Government will become richer. I wish that the Government grows richer. But this House has no authority over this amount. We may pass cut motions. Government has got power to restore them.

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We may make speeches. We may beat our heads against rocks. Still we do not know whether the budget will be revised. If this House cannot legitimately expect a control over the finances, if this House has been very often disappointed on the cut motions and resolutions and the speeches which are made before this House, can this House be a party to make the coffers of the Government richer by compelling the representatives of this House to pay taxes? Will you be justified in introducing in the name of democracy such a measure and expect support from us? Therefore Sir, I feel absolutely no scruple whatsoever in opposing this Bill. It is not the result of intellectual evanity as the Hon'ble Minister suggested. I believe that I have the least intelligence compared to the members here. But I have the consolation that the lower my intellectual capacity the greater is my possibility to learn what comes from those who can be proud of their intellectual capacity.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* That is true greatness, I say.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I once more emphasise that if the arguments raised by the ministerial party are really reflections of their knowledge of the implications of the Bill, and if they believe that they support it under the impression that these amounts can really be utilised for rural areas as the Minister directs, then I say, it is an unfounded belief. I have no quarrel with them if they misapprehend matters. Certainly errors can be corrected and I would certainly believe that they will be liable to correction the moment we can convince them they are really wrong. But if their support is based on instead of a misunderstanding or unfounded beliefs, on a correct understanding and appreciation of the implications of this Bill, then Sir, I would condemn most emphatically the support that is accorded to this Bill. If that support is based on a knowledge of the implications of this Bill, on a knowledge that double taxation is the result, then Sir, in the name of true democracy, in the name of these people who will be liable to pay taxes for years, I condemn that attitude. For these reasons, Sir, I oppose this motion. On this principle, I oppose the Bill. Mr. Kaimal was stating by way of interruption that this Bill is going to apply only to few areas and I have heard the Hon'ble Minister also stating last time " I am not going to declare Adur as a Town Council. What obligation and what moral duty is there for the Adur Member to come and raise it ?"

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* The statement is true. The inference that you drew is wrong.

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Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I am happy that my statement is true. I oppose it as a member of the Adur Constituency. I oppose it, because there is no certainty that Adur will not be declared a Town Council tomorrow. I oppose it in the name of the Adur Constituency, because when your Town Council has no limit or extent, when it fixes only a certain population and that population can be had within 5, 15 or 20 miles, I have no certainty whether Adur which does not deserve to be a Town Council will not be notified as a Town Council tomorrow. This House has no control. The member for the Adur Constituency will not have a right to come and urge that Adur should not be declared a Town Council. I know the nature of protest that comes from time to time before the Government in declaring any certain area as a Municipality. I know, when I was a resident of Irinjalakkuda, how the inhabitants of Irinjalakkuda entered a vehement protest against the declaration of Irinjalakkuda as a Municipality. What right has the people of Irinjalakkuda to say that Irinjalakkuda should not be constituted a Municipality? There is no certainty. The Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development says that Kunnamkulam was going to be a Town Council. The Hon'ble Member for Kunnamkulam was saying that Kunnamkulam does not want to be a Town Council. The most effective representation of a constituency ought to be taken to be made by that member who is elected by that constituency and whenever that member states in this House that they do not want this designation, which is neither fish nor flesh, and when the people of Kunnamkulam believe that their representative has made representation before the House they are not going to be respected. My question is therefore how will we be justified in thinking that Adur or Mala or any place will not be a Town Council tomorrow. If the Government think that there is no money and that the coffers have to be strengthened the easiest method is to open a Town Council, to close the budget for that area, carry that amount to the reserve funds and spend it for other purposes. If you want Rs. 1,000 today one area is declared a town Council. If you want Rs. 2,000 tomorrow another area is declared a Town Council. If you want Rs. 3,000 a third area becomes a Town Council. We have no certainty. Government may be doing rightly or wrongly. It may be wrong in my opinion. Government may think it to be right. Government may be wrong in its decision. But when we have no right to control, when it is open to the Government to adjust the budget according to their needs and to find out ways and means to find out money; and when taxation of a general nature is likely to be opposed by the State, then the most convenient method which the Government can fall upon is a convenient taxation of area after area

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That is why no area is fixed in the definition of the Town Council. It is as elastic as rubber. Any number of people can be brought within it. I think it is my duty to oppose this Bill as a member of this Legislative Council. I also oppose it in the name of the constituency which I represent, in the name of the Panchayat which I represent, until I would get a certainty that this House will have an effective voice in declaring which area is to be declared a Town Council.

* **Mr. V. J. Mathai** *(Planters):* I really believe the opposition to this measure has arisen from half a dozen misapprehensions. Only half a dozen arguments have been put forward in support of the opposition. I will take these arguments without going into controversy between the ministerial party and the opposition party and discuss as an impartial and independent observer. I feel it my duty to do so as an independent man. In doing so I wish to take one by one the arguments which are really misapprehensions which have been put forward by the opposition.

Argument No. 1, that is misapprehension No. 1, is that there is no necessity for money, that the coffers of the Cochin Government are full to the brim, and therefore there is absolutely no necessity for money. If only one will attend the budget session of this Council and consider the number of cut motions which are put forward and which are necessarily withdrawn on the kind assurance by the Diwan Peishkar or the Chief Engineer on the plea of paucity of funds, if only one considers the various demands made by the rural parts, very rural parts, for irrigation projects, for opening up canals for improvement of cultivation of paddy fields, if only one will consider the amount required to meet all these things, one will never advance the argument that the coffers of the Cochin Government are full. I ask this simple question. Why should the people, who are poor, of Mulanthuruthi village, pay for the electricity given to the Nemmara town? Actually Nemmara is enjoying all amenities—electric supply, water supply and what not.

Now the second question is, why should the people of Mulanthuruthi and Keecheri Village pay for the convenience and luxuries of the people of Nemmara. That really is the aim underlying the whole Bill, if I have understood it correctly. As a person belonging to the Mulanthuruthi village which has no electric light, which has no water supply, I am bound to oppose this opposition. And the reason is there. If the people who plead for rural parts, really plead for such overgrown rural parts which are really towns, that really is the question. Therefore the conflict is between the true representatives of the village people and the representatives of the

* Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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overgrown villages which are not towns. Therefore the quarrel is not between the people of Ernakulam and the people of Mulanthuruthi. The quarrel is between Kunnamkulam, Nemmara, Vadakkancheri, and possibly Chalakkudi and Trippunittura on the one hand and Keecheri, Mulanthuruthi, Kulayettikara and small villages like that which are about 273 on the other part to use the conveyancing language. Between 5 overgrown villages which are now self-sufficient to meet their own demands and 273 poor villages which had not got even latrines, which are often demanded by my hon'ble member Mr. M. L. Joseph, or which had not got sufficient water-supply as in the village of Vypeen, for example, or which have no sufficient roads or even small amenities, as wells for drinking purposes is the quarrel. The quarrel is between Nemmara and the villages which have not got the necessary amenities. Therefore whom do you represent in your opposition? You represent Nemmara in your opposition and oppose the other villages. The problem is that—very simple, as an impartial and independent observer sees it. Now the question is whether for party purposes one should use the controversy to defeat the Minister or others.

Then argument No. 2 which is misapprehension No. 2. Are we not taxing the people in the villages? Two questions arise there. Under Town Councils Bill, which if it becomes law charge the people, who impose the taxation? The people themselves. The representatives of the people. The Chairman and the Councillors of the Town Councils decide that such and such a tax may be imposed upon the people. Who are they? They are more directly responsible to the people, than any other body. Therefore if the people decide that they should impose the taxation upon themselves which is not voluntary contribution how does it arise that the Government or the Hon'ble Minister is imposing a tax on them? This is misapprehension No. 2.

How is it that we are really taxing the rural population? Trippunittura wants to enjoy certain amenitites, and if they decide to have certain amenities provided in the Trippunittura town, because they have got the power to do so, how is it that the people of the other villages suffer? They do not suffer at all. They will be only immensely pleased with the Trippunittura people. Instead of requesting the Government for money, instead of requesting the Hon'ble Minister for money which belongs to the 273 poor villages, if they impose certain taxes upon themselves, how is it that the villages suffer? Therefore a true friend of the villages should now support this measure. Because it is to their benefit. I think, I have made that position fairly clear. The real rural people are really benefitted by

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that. They will have to impose certain taxation upon themselves for the purpose of extra amenities. If there was a Town Council at Nemmara and electricity was given to Nemmara by them, necessarily you and I would not have to pay for the electricity being given to Nemmara. Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar and myself live in villages. Mr. Subramania Ayyar gets electricity, but I am not. There is no electricity supply in my village. That is the simple question. No personal reference. Therefore the people of 273 villages in the Cochin State address the Minister for Rural Development for helping them from the avaricious clutches of the 5 over-grown villages which refuse to be called towns and which are really towns. That is the question.

Misapprehension No. 3. It is that a power is already vested in the Government to declare any area as a Municipality. I looked into the Municipal Act and I found that under sections 3 and 4 Government have power to declare any place as a Municipality. What is the argument? Power is being taken by the Government to declare any area consisting of 5000 people a town. Such a power exists already in the hands of the Government. Simply because Nemmara is called a Town or a Municipality what is the difference? The argument now is what is the harm in the exercise of the powers which already existed under the Act. In clear terms that power is now to vest in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development who may be one amongst ourselves, whom we can change at any time, which unfortunately we are not able to do now. When we see that the power instead of being vested in the Government is vested in the Hon'ble Minister what is the quarrel? The power is vested in the Government. The power which vested with the reserved half is to vest with the transferred half. What is the harm? Absolutely no harm. That is misapprehension No. 3.

Misapprehension No. 4 is that people say really that they do not want it. Who are the people that do not want it. I see that the people of Nemmara, Kunnamkulam, Chalakkudi, Vadakkancheri and Trippunittura are the people who do not want it. People of 273 villages want it and only people of 5 villages do not want it. This is misapprehension No. 4.

Misapprehension No. 5 is that the cost of maintenance will be far out of proportion to the income derived. What do you mean by cost of maintenance? What is the cost of maintenance of Panchayats? Now nothing except that of a clerk. Because everybody works free, though we councillors want Rs. 50 or more and travelling batta. One member may oppose it simply on account of *balisam*—boyishness. I want to be boyish myself. That is no

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matter at all. That being the position why not these Town Council Members also work free. Why not you get sufficient staff to maintain it free. Are not the members of the Ernakulam Municipality honorary ? Are not many others working free in this Cochin State ? Are not several members working as honorary without receiving one pie from the Government and without their name being entered in the Civil List. We can therefore get honorary workers in the Town Councils, because Government is for the people, by the people. The cost of maintenance is an opposition in the hands of people who want salary for everything they do. That is what it comes to. Be very serious about this matter, because the cost of maintenance is nothing. The people of Kunnamkulam, will be prepared to work as honorary and if there are funds they will be paid. Therefore we need not be frightened about the cost of maintenance.

Misapprehension No. 6 is that the Minister incurred the odium of bringing this measure and that from the Leader of the opposition who left the Minister's party some time back. Is there mere love between the adversaries than among themselves ? The solicitude of the Leader of the opposition on account of the odium which may attach on the Minister by bringing this measure is indeed very high. He asks why not give that duty to the Diwan Peishkar or any other persons of the reserved Department. Let them incur the odium. Why should we take up the odium and responsibility of bringing this measure. I really love the sportsman-like love behind that adversary's solicitude for the Minister. These then are the 6 apprehensions which are found to be given as arguments in support of the opposition. I think all these arguments have been made now as a humble independent impartial observer—as a steady independent member, never changing on any account. Now coming to the other argument, the argument for the measure.—

In the first instance, I welcome this measure as an enlargement of the self-government. It is a great enlargement of self-government. Instead of leaving the question of the decision upon the needs of a particular area by Government that question is taken up by the people themselves. They decide what are their particular needs. They decide how their expenses should be met. No doubt the Government is sure to help the municipality or the Town Council, whenever it may be necessary. Therefore they are a very great enlargement of self-government. In the second place, the 273 villages will be benefitted and those villages which happened to be town councils will also be benefitted. Therefore there is an all-round benefit, and no harm. Thirdly, almost all the civilised countries in the world and the country which we are imitating for all purposes—

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England— and several other civilised countries are trying to civilise further. I find that we want to be a civilised country which has got corporations, burough councils and a number of councils like that. Therefore we are supported by questions of getting more self government and greater benefit to the villages themselves and thirdly, by precedents from very well-governed civilised States. Therefore proceeding upon these arguments I have no other alternative except to support the measure.

Mr. K. S. Panicker *(Ezhuvas-Mukundapuram):* On a point of information, Sir, May I know the total population of Kunnamkulam Village?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* That is about 17 to 19 thousand.

Mr. M. L. Joseph *(Latin-Christians-Cranganur):* Mr. President Sir, Now that a skeleton address to the Hon'ble Minister has already been framed by the Hon'ble Member for Planters on behalf of the 273 villages, it remains very little for me to add except to say "we beg to remain". But I do not think that I will be justified in joining the Hon'ble Member for Planters in his honest desire to bring within the purview of his attempt to present the monster address at least so far as the village to which I belong. At the very outset I may say that although the Hon'ble Member for Planters has been putting forward 6 misapprehensions, and even though he has succeeded very well in clubbing all these into a much bigger misapprehension, still I am not convinced of his argument to say that this Bill is for the benefit of the 273 villages of Cochin. His first misapprehension according to his own words is that there is no necessity for money, and that the Government coffers are full. Now I think nobody in this Hon'ble House will ever remark that the Government coffers are full and that there is no necessity for money for the Government. But I may humbly ask him what is the guarantee that, even if we earn money for the Government, we will be allowed to utilise that money according to our own needs. What guarantee is there that Government are prepared to take our advice for the matter of spending money? So long as there is no responsibility vested with us, so long as we are not able to chalk out the plans for the spending of our money, I daresay that the hon'ble member is under an illusion to imagine that this money is being collected for the benefit of the people, to be spent by the people as they like. I would rather amend the statement and say that this money is collected from the people by the people themselves with the intention of spending for their own purposes but which the Government may spend according to their own whims and fancies. As such I may tell the

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hon'ble member that he has been disillusioned to think that this money is collected for the benefit of the people. Again there is the other point raised by Mr. Devassy. There is no guarantee that the Government would be giving the same amount which they have been giving to the Minister after certain villages are eliminated from the present group of villages by the operation of the Town Councils Bill. Imagining that certain villages will be taken away from the general community of villages into the purview of this Act, there is no guarantee that the money that has been once utilised for these villages will be given into the Minister's hands to be utilised for the benefit of other villages. We will not therefore be justified in thinking that it will be for the benefit of the 273 villages.

Then there is the other argument whereby he thinks that the establishment charges will be only nominal. I do not think there would be any body, as a matter of fact, in the whole of Cochin who will be prepared to do honorary work in these town councils, as Sanitary Inspectors, Health Officers, etc. Of course I do not deny that there may be one or two at random who may be prepared to do any amount of work without any remuneration. There may be a few people who may be able to live on air and water. But I do not think that sufficient number of such people can be obtained for the purpose of carrying on the administration of these municipalities.

Again, with regard to the criticism advanced as to the statement of the leader of the opposition when he asked why the Minister should incur the odium by bringing this measure. Of course, I do not think that there is much to be condemned in that statement. In fact it is not for the people's Minister to bring a measure like this to add to the coffers of the Government. The Minister has been appointed not to see that money is made available to the Government, but for finding out proper ways and means of spending the money given to him for providing amenities for the public who are ever on the look out to find out methods of getting more and more responsibility and control over the funds that is already available. Now here is the Minister who has no control whatsoever over the funds that are available already, and who is trying to add to the funds that is already available in the hands of the Government thereby only exhibiting to the world at large that the Minister, even though named as responsible Minister, people's Minister and the leader of the democratic party, is only an agent to find out ways and means of extracting money from the people to enrich the Government. These are the only few points which I have to bring to the notice of this House. Whatever may be said with regard to the opposition or

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whatever condemnation or redicule may be thrown against them, it will always be the honest conviction of this party that this Bill is not in any way going to be in the interests of the 273 villages of Cochin. I therefore oppose this Bill.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ: സർ, ടെയ്ൺ കൈയ്ൺസിൽ ബില്ലിനെ ഞാൻ ശക്തിപൂർവ്വം എതിർക്കുന്നു. ബില്ലിനെ സാധൂകരിക്കുന്നതിനു് ആ ഭാഗത്തുനിന്നു പല വാദങ്ങളും ഈ സഭയിൽ പ്രസ്ഥാവിച്ചു കേൾക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം സമ്പാദിച്ച കൊച്ചിയിൽ ആ ഭരണസിദ്ധാന്തത്തെ കൂടുതൽ പ്രായോഗികമാക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു പരിപാടിയാണെന്നാണു് ഈ സഭയുടെ അകത്തും പുറത്തും ഈ ബില്ലിനെപ്പറ്റി പ്രചരണം നടത്തിയിരുന്നവർ പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നതു്. പഞ്ചായത്തു് ആക്ടു് കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തു നടപ്പാക്കിയ അവസരത്തിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഗ്രാമീണപുനരുദ്ധാരണ കാര്യങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് വ്യവസ്ഥാപിതമായ ഒരു സ്കീം അന്നു ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽ നിന്നും ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിരുന്നുവെന്നുള്ളതു് അതിലെ ഓരോ വകുപ്പുകളും എടുത്തു പരിശോധിച്ചാൽ മനസ്സിലാകും. പഞ്ചായത്തു് ആക്ടിലെ ഫ ഫ-ാം വകുപ്പു പ്രകാരം അതാതു പഞ്ചായത്തുകളുടെ ആവശ്യത്തിൽ ആവശ്യമായ ധനം ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു കൊടുക്കുന്നതാണെന്നും അതനുസരിച്ചു് ക്രമീകൃതമായ ചില കാര്യപരിപാടികളും നിശ്ചയിച്ചു് പഞ്ചായത്തുകളും ഭരണം നടത്തേണ്ടതാണെന്നും കാണുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് പഞ്ചായത്തുകളും വളരെക്കാലമായി ഭരണം നടത്തുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അവയുടെ പരിപോഷണത്തിനു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് അവതരിപ്പിച്ച ബിൽ അതിന്റെ പ്രാപ്യസ്ഥാനത്തെത്തിക്കുന്നതിനു് എത്രമാത്രം പരിശ്രമം ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു പരീക്ഷിച്ചുനോക്കുന്നപക്ഷം വില്ലേജുകളുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ കൊച്ചി ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു് ചെയ്യാവുന്നിടത്തോളമുള്ളയാതൊന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നാണു് കാണുന്നതു്. ചില ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു കൊടുക്കുന്ന പണം മറ്റുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ ചിലവുചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും, അതു കൊണ്ടു് ഈ ബിൽ സാധൂകരിക്കത്തക്കതാണെന്നും ചില ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർ പ്രസ്ഥാവിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി.

ഞാൻ ഒരു സംഗതി ഈ സഭയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതു് ഒരു വില്ലേജിൽനിന്നു പിരിക്കുന്ന പണത്തിന്റെ എത്രയോ ചുരുങ്ങിയ ഒരു ശതമാനം മാത്രമേ ആ വില്ലേജുകളിൽ ചിലവു ചെയ്യപ്പെടുന്നുള്ളു എന്നതാണു്. അതു ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ടെയ്ൺ കൈയ്ൺസിൽ ബില്ലുകൊണ്ടോ മറ്റു വ്യവസ്ഥകൾകൊണ്ടോ നമുക്കു ദൂരീകരിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ മൌലികമായ ചില ദോഷങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടും, പണം പിരിച്ചെടുക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തുതന്നെ അതു ചിലവുചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള നിയന്ത്രണം വരുത്തുവാൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത ചില സാഹചര്യങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ ഉള്ളതുകൊണ്ടും, ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും നികുതിയായും മറ്റും പല ഇനങ്ങളിൽ പിരിച്ചെടുക്കുന്ന പണം റാംമോഹൻ പാലസ് ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി ചിലവുചെയ്യുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം നിലവിലുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടുമാണു് ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിലേക്കു് ആവശ്യമുള്ള പണം ചിലവു ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാധിക്കാത്തതു്. ടെയ്ൺ കൈയ്ൺസിലുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചാൽ ചില സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ നികുതി പിരിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ആവകാശം അവരവർക്കുതന്നെ സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നുവെന്നല്ലാതെ അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിലേക്കു കൂടുതൽ ഗുണമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുള്ളതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ അവതാരകൻ യാതൊന്നും പ്രസ്ഥാവിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രസംഗം പരിശോധിച്ചാൽ മനസ്സിലാകും.

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ടൌൺ കൈൗൺസിലുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചാൽ തീർച്ചയായും എത്ര യോഗ്യരായ ചെയർമാന്മാരായാലും പ്രസിഡൻറായാലും മെമ്പർമാരായാലും അവിടത്തെ ചിലവുകൾ നടത്തുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ആ ടൌൺ അതിയിൽപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളിൽനിന്നും നികുതി പിരിച്ചെടുക്കുവാൻ നിർബ്ബന്ധിതരാകും. തൃശ്ശിവപേരൂർ മുനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റിയിൽ മനുഷ്യരുടെ ഏറ്റവും പ്രാഥമികജീവിതാവശ്യമാകുന്ന വെള്ളത്തിനുവേണ്ടി നടത്തോട്ടിൽനിന്നു വെള്ളം കൊണ്ടുവരണമെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി അവിടത്തെ മുനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റി ഏറ്റെടുത്തപ്പോൾ നാട്ടുകാരിൽനിന്നുണ്ടായ പ്രതിഷേധം എത്രയാണെന്നു് ഈ ബില്ലിലെ സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റി അംഗങ്ങളായിരുന്ന ചിലർക്കു മനസ്സിലായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. പലവിധത്തിലും കൊച്ചിയിലെ കർഷകരും മറ്റുതരക്കാരും ദുർഭരമായ നികുതിഭാരത്തിനു് അധീനരായി തീരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ടൌൺ കൈൗൺസിലിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ഒരു പുതിയ നികുതികൂടി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു് ഒരിക്കലും നല്ലതല്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് തർക്കമറ്റ. സംഗതിയാണു്. ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ സിലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റിക്കു് മന്ത്രി മെമ്പർമാരെ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചതു് മുനിസിപ്പൽ ചെയർമാന്മാരായിരുന്നവരേയും പഞ്ചായത്തു് പ്രസിഡൻറന്മാരായിരുന്നവരേയുമാണെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ല.

ഡോക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ: ഈ കൈൗൺസിലിലെ മെമ്പർമാരാണു് അവർ.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ: ആ മെമ്പർമാർ ഈ ബില്ലിൽ വരുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന ചില മാറ്റങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഞാൻ പരിശോധിച്ചുനോക്കിയതിൽ ചില സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ പ്രാഥമികമായ ചില അവകാശങ്ങളെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്ന വകുപ്പുകൾകൂടി ബില്ലിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതായി എനിക്കു കാണുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എല്ലാജാതിക്കാർക്കും പ്രോത്സാഹനമാവാദം കിട്ടണമെന്നുള്ള കാര്യത്തിൽ മുനിസിപ്പൽ നിയമത്തെ ഭേദഗതിവരുത്തി അതിന്റെ അനുബന്ധമായി ചില വകുപ്പുകളിൽ പബ്ലിക്കു് എന്നതിനുപകരം പബ്ലിക്കു് എന്ന പരിഗണിക്കുവാനുള്ള വഴി ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

ഡോക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ: പബ്ലിക്കു് എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ എന്താണു് അർത്ഥം?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ: All the public.

ഡോക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ: ആം പബ്ലിക്കു് എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ എല്ലാ സ്ഥലത്തും എല്ലാപേക്കും ഒന്നുപോലെ അവകാശമുള്ളതാണെന്നു് അർത്ഥം.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* May I know what section you are referring to?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ വിശ്വംഭരൻ: ഫസ്റ്റ് നിഷ്പക്ഷമായ ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റിയാണു് ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി പരിശോധിച്ചിരുന്നതെങ്കിൽ ഇങ്ങിനെ വരികയില്ലായിരുന്നുവെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Sir, on a point of order. I do not know whether it is proper to attack a

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Committee selected by this very House. I resent that statement not on my behalf, but on behalf of all those who have worked incessantly to bring this Bill into shape.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ: ഇനി ഏതുതരം ഗ്രാമങ്ങളെയാണ്, ഏതുതരം ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങളെയാണ് ഈ ബില്ലിന്റെ പരിധിയിൽ പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു പരിശോധിക്കുന്നതു് രസാവഹമായിരിക്കും.

Deputy President: Will you take much more time?

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* I want half an hour more.

Deputy President : Then the House stands adjourned.

The House rose for the day at 5 p.m.

C. J. MATHEW

Secretary to the Council

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